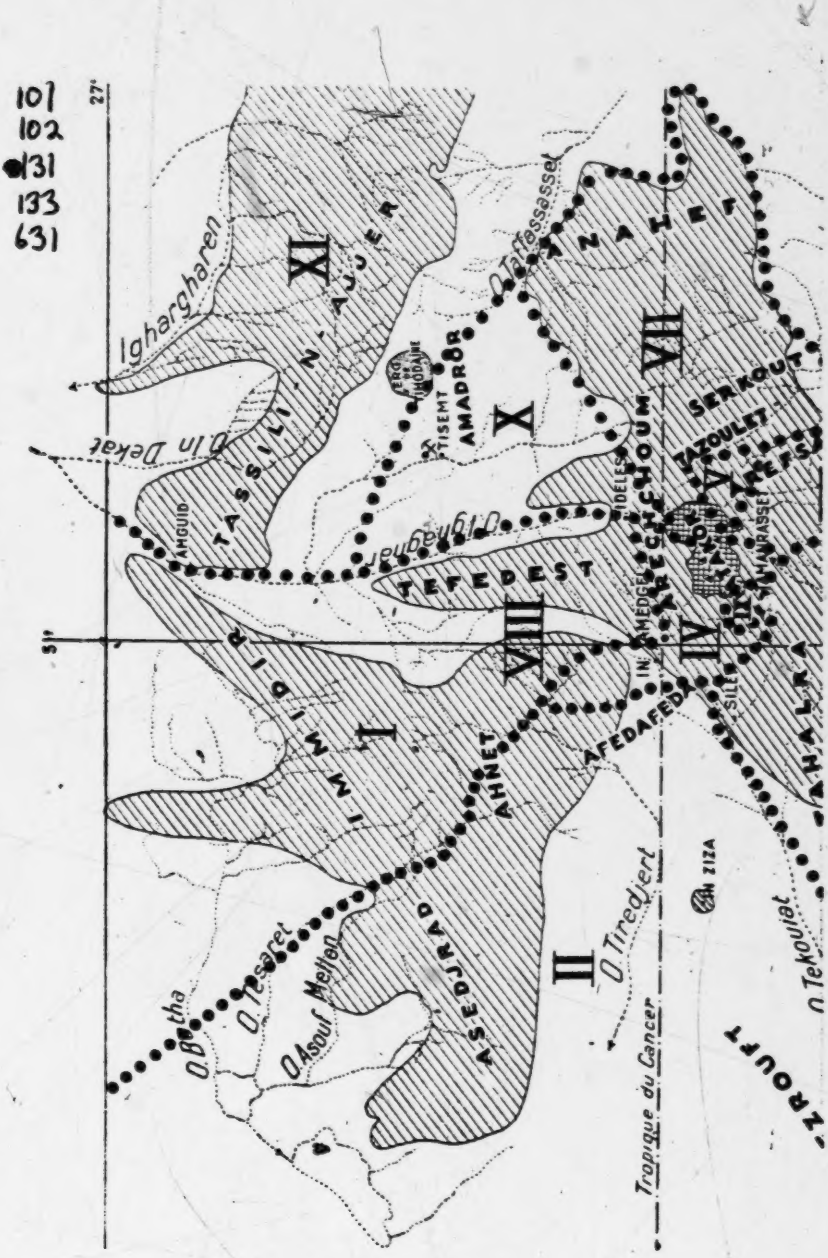
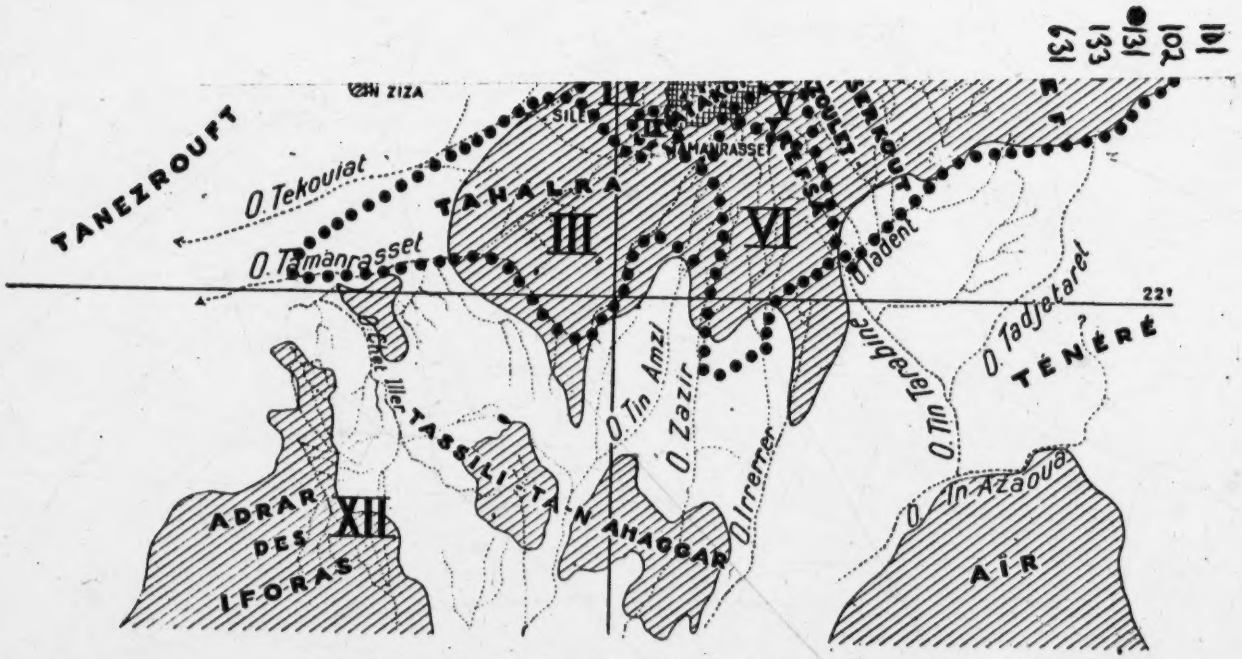
1: Lhote--41a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25





Map IV. Areas of nomadization of Ahaggar tribes.

I. Issekkemâren.
S. f. Kel In-Rhar'
Kel Amgid
Kel Tâfedest
Kel Immîdir

Ihéiaoueà-Hâda
Isselamaten
Kel I-n-Tounîn
Kel Terourirt

II. Tâitok et Kel Ahnet

III. Ikechchemâden
Iklan-en-Táoussit
Tégéhé-n-Efis

IV. Dâg-Râli
Ibettenâten
Irréguénaten

V. Kel Tazoûlet

VI. Agouh-en Tehlé

VII. Ait Loaien

VIII. Tégéhé-Mellet

IX. Ikâdeien

X. Zone of salt marshes open to all tribes, but owned by the Amenokal.

XI. Ajjer Tuareg

XII. Zone of exceptional nomadization of the Ibettenâten, Irreguenaten, Ikadeien, and Kel Ahnet.

Scale: 1/5, 000, 000.

1: Lhote--41b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

631 Taken away from the Tăitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land
631 over which they range includes all of the Ădrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad,
● 131 and part of the Immîdir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemâren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immîdir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaïa. They camp near the Tăitok in the Ădrar Tazerzaït, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census,
[162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Tăitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ădrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of
[669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

114 closer look and find out just what really does go on in the bosom of such a seemingly impossible community. The best general source on the Ahaggar Tuareg is probably Blanguernon (1955), while Benhazera (1908) gives some valuable demographic data and Lhote (1947 and 1955) supplies a mass of miscellaneous details. But all these works are in French: Rodd (1926), writing in English, gives a fairly good general picture of the Tuareg as a whole although he deals primarily with the Aïr.

101 The Tuareg of the Sahara proper, as we have defined it, are divided into three confederations, those of the Tassili n Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Adrar n Ifoghas, distributed in that order from Northeast to Southwest. [161] There are probably only about 10,000 or 11,000 of them in all, for most of the Tuareg, some 140,000 strong, now live outside our area in the Aïr and the northern central Sudan. We will take the Ahaggar confederation as our Tuareg socio-economic sample because this group not only seems to have remained the least affected by foreign influence but has also been the most extensively studied and described, and because it is the only one with which the author is personally familiar.

101 The Tuareg as a whole used to range over an enormous territory extending roughly as 166 far north as Ouargla, eastward to Gatroun, westward to a bit beyond a line running from ● 131 Aoulef to Timbuctoo, and southward to below the Niger Bend and the northern border of Nigeria. The eastern, northern and western limits of this range have been slowly driven back over the last few centuries, first by ever stronger Arab pressure from the East and North and then by the gradual southward extension of French and, more recently, Italian control. These steadily increasing pressures have produced a steadily increasing though fluctuating flow of the Tuareg population southward from the Desert proper, through the Aïr and the Adrar n Ifoghas and into the Sudan. Under the stimulus of disaster in one form or another, this flow has occasionally become torrential for brief periods, as when, following the suppression of the 1916–18 rebellion, a great wave of Aïr Tuareg moved into British Nigeria (Rodd, 1926, p. 361) and the main body of the Taïtoq tribe left their home range in the western Ahaggar for the

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds
[101] fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these
565 are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [8] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

[7] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
551 as many different ways as are the geographical names
104 of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [6] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 theory, to that of ordinary vassals (Lhote,
173 1955, p. 236), but in fact they are looked
614 down upon as greatly inferior to Tuareg vassal clans (Blanguernon, 1955, p. 52). Although the Issoquamaren clans and fractions have been parceled out among various tribes of the Ahaggar confederation, they still seem to retain some remnants of the social structure of a single and united tribe. Since the Issoquamaren have become rich in camels, they have regained in practical power and influence most of what they once lost in hierarchical prestige.

● [131] The Irreguenaten are based on the Tamesna region south of the Ahaggar, and nomadize from there northwestward across the Adrar n Ifoghas sometimes even as far as the Erg Chech (pronounced *Shesh*). They are believed to have sprung from a series of marriages between Gouraran and Kounta Arab men and Tuareg women of the Ibotenaten clan. The descendants of these unions became so numerous and so very rich, in camels and in slaves, that they were finally able to establish a separate clan of their own. Although they are included in the vassal category, they enjoy a nebulous but well-recognized position of precedence in relation to most of the other Tuareg vassal clans.

The Irreguenaten constitute a matri-clan subdivided into two patri-clans, the Haggarenin and the Settafnin, which are based on supposed descent from two ancestral Arab groups, one of them thought to have been of Shorfa stock. And this is very interesting as an example of a matrilineal clan structure that has been effectively split into two patrilineal clans while still remaining basically a unit in the matrilineal terms of Tuareg social and politico-economic organization and, to a great extent, in terms of its own internal economic organization too.

565 It will be noted that the partly Arab clans
614 of the Ahaggar Tuareg confederation live for the most part outside the Ahaggar proper,
101 and are distributed in an arc that curves around its southwestern, western and northwestern borders. The northwestern extremity of this arc continues curving eastward, then southeastward and finally on southward around the territory of the Ajjer Tuareg confederation. The southern gap in the circum-

565 614 101 131 ference of the resulting oval is closed by the Negro-Tuareg contact zone of the southern Aïr. The Ahaggar massif lies at the center of this oval refuge area: it is a Berber island, so to speak, whose broad beaches are continually swept by waves of the surrounding Arab sea and, along the southern and southeastern shores, by the negroid "Gulf Stream" of the Sudan.

565 174 563 [797] There have probably never been many Shorfa or Maraboutic families established in the Ahaggar itself, although a few of them have lived there for a long time now. Arab Shorfa missionaries from Morocco first arrived probably in the 7th or early 8th century. They soon set up a theocratic dynasty, the Imenan, who ruled the Ahaggar and the Ajjer Tuareg as a single confederation until about 1650, when Goma, last of the Imenan "sultans," was murdered by Biska, a noble of the Oraghen tribe of Ajjer Tuareg. There followed a long period of anarchy and civil wars out of which finally arose, about the middle of the 18th century, the main framework of the Tuareg political structure which we now know. Descendants of immigrant Arab holy men are very few and scattered in the Ahaggar today, and their power has been reduced to no more than a faint shadow of what it used to be. People of this kind are much more numerous, united and powerful in the northeastern and southwestern corners of Tuareg territory, among the Ajjer and the Ifoghas of the Adrar, than they are in the region with which we are directly concerned at the moment. It is significant, however, that as recently as 1900 a Shorfa holy man exerted decisive influence in the electoral council of the Ahaggar confederation when that body found itself seriously divided over the choice of a new amenokal (Benhazera, 1908, p. 126).

[591] [611] We know that Arab blood has been seeping very gradually into the topmost level of the Tuareg aristocracy, for at least a century, through the occasional marriages of noble Tuareg women with Arab men. In all such cases residence is strictly matrilocal. Since rank is inherited through the mother, a son of this kind of union ranks as a Tuareg noble and can become a chief. Duveyrier (1864, pp. 22–23) describes the case of the Ajjer Tuareg governor of Ghat in 1861, whose father was

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and legal factors.

The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even tor eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

4: Benhazera--iii C-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Lithographic printer, A. Jourdan, Algiers

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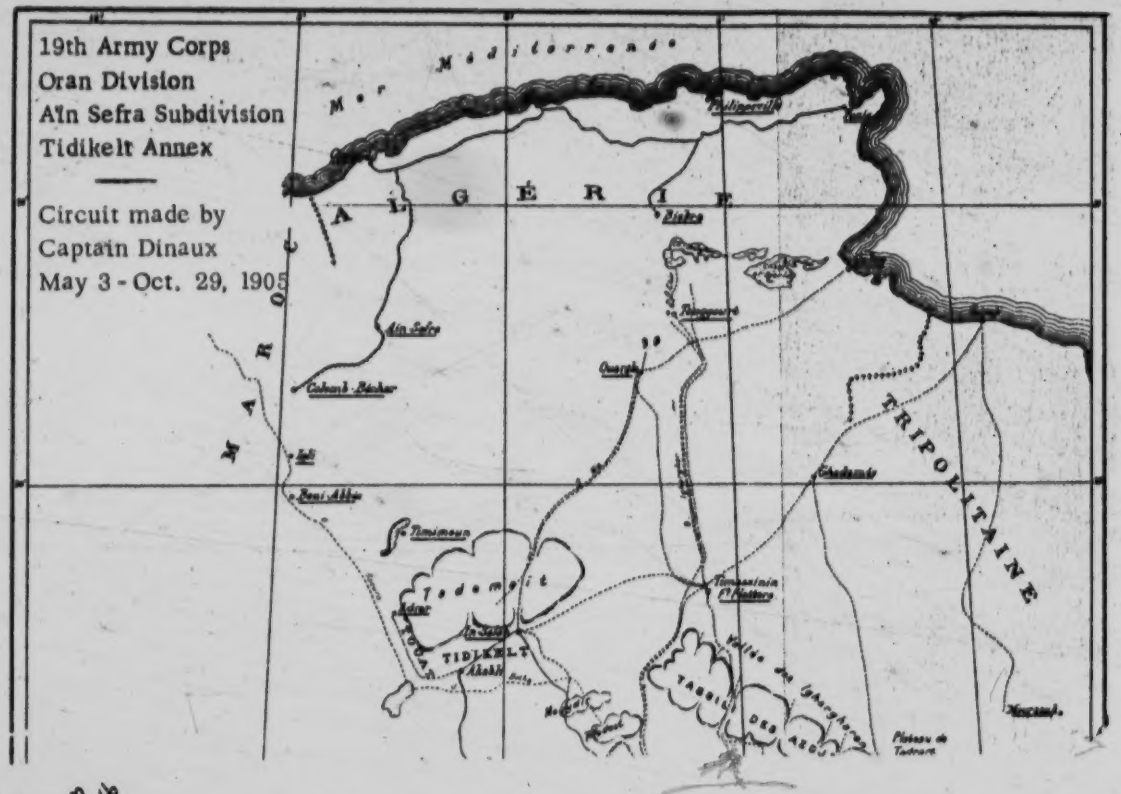
4: Benhazera--iv G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.

By Johannes Nicolaisen

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

(B.67)

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*)	Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters		Notes
ⵖ	ɣ	غ	Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature.
ⵙ	s	س	
ⵜ	t	ت	
ⵟ	ṭ	ط	Emphatic
ⵣ	z	ز	
ⵥ	ẓ		Emphatic

For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.

The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

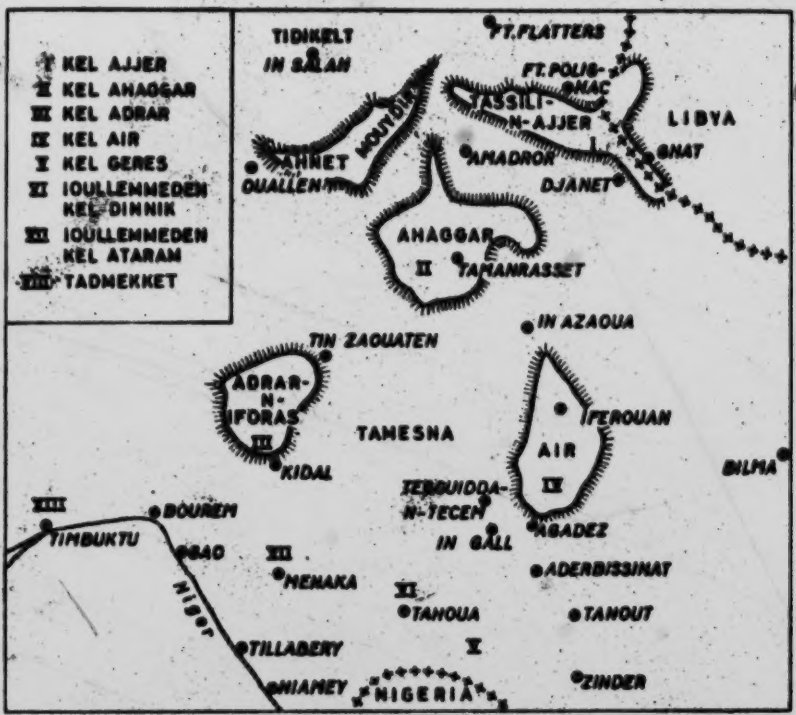

Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

6:Blanguernon--iiY-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[Frontispiece]

6:Blanguernon--2 Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

/11/ I

The Ahaggar

131 The Ahaggar annex, whose administrative seat is Tamanrasset, covers an area of about 375, 000 square kilometers. It is bounded approximately by 1° and 8° east longitude and 19° and 27° north latitude. The exact boundaries are shown on the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map of the Sahara.

The Tropic of Cancer cuts the territory of the annex into two almost equal parts.

A glance at the quadrilateral in the 1/1, 000, 000-scale map shows an immense system of mountains, bounded on the north by the absolutely sterile plain, the Tidikelt, and on the southeast and west by the strictly desert plateaus of the Ténéré and the Tanezrouft.

It seems that the Ahaggar, isolated by its girdle of deserts, became a natural reserve, a world apart from the Sahara, aging alone and preserving some of its original character.

Its location relates the Ahaggar to the Sudan; the vegetation proves it and the population bears traces of it.

After having been a break between Algeria and Black Africa before the French occupation, the Ahaggar is now becoming a link between them.

175 Less than 70 years ago the Ahaggar was completely unknown.
648 The existence of the /12/ Tuareg was merely suspected from tales told by the Arabs, tales full of error and lacking objectivity.

The advance into Tuareg country was provoked by repeated acts of pillage and destruction by the "blue" men, fierce, independent, and warlike.

The few dates to be found in the appendix show that the French advance into the country was slow and always marked by that humanity which, despite several attacks launched by the Tuareg, never ceased to be the constant concern of all the leaders.

The Tuareg

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of Western Sahara and the northern parts of the Western Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° Northern Latitude and between 5° Western Longitude and 10° Eastern Longitude. 101 131

The Tuareg fall into several main groups which correspond largely to political units. These groups are the following:—

I. *Kel Ajjer*, in the mountains named Tasilé-n-Ajjer in the eastern part of the Algerian Sahara and in adjacent parts of Libya. Northwards they reach Tripolitania and the great sandy desert Erg Oriental around Radames.

II. *Kel Ahaggar*, in the Ahaggar Mountains, in the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir, and Téfedest – and in adjacent parts of the lowland. Certain tribes of the Ahaggar group live in the southern plains of Tamesna between the mountain massifs of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and Ayr, particularly around I-n-abanṛerit and Tegidda-n-téseməi.

III. *Kel Adṛaṛ*, in the mountains of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas south-west of Ahaggar.

IV. *Kel Ayr*, in the mountain massif of Ayr and in the plains to the west and south. The Tuareg of Ayr form several semi-independent units of which the more important are the *Kel Ewey*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Kel Faday*, and the *Kel Ferwan*.

V. *Kel Geres*, south of the Kel Ayr in the plains around Tessawa. Late in summer at the end of the rains they move up to Southern Ayr around the watering places of Tegidda-n-edrar, Tegidda-n-tagayt, and Tafadek.

VI. *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*, that is the eastern *Iwllemmeden*, in the plains around Tawa. At the end of the rains they move northwards to the region of Ingal which is within the country of the Ayr Tuareg.

VII. *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*, that is the western *Iwllemmedn*, in the plains around Meneka and along the Niger.

VIII. *Kel Tademaket* comprising several tribes and groups of tribes around Timbuktu and Lac Faguibine. Important among these Tuareg are the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The *Tademaket* Tuareg from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram*.

The two former groups, the *Kel Ajjer* and the *Kel Ahaggar*, are frequently referred to by the generic term of *Northern Tuareg*, while the six latter groups living on the outskirts of the true desert and in the Sudanese savannah are known as *Southern Tuareg*. In addition to these groups there are certain small Tuareg groups which in recent times have left their original homeland. After the French penetra- 101 167

[p. 7]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

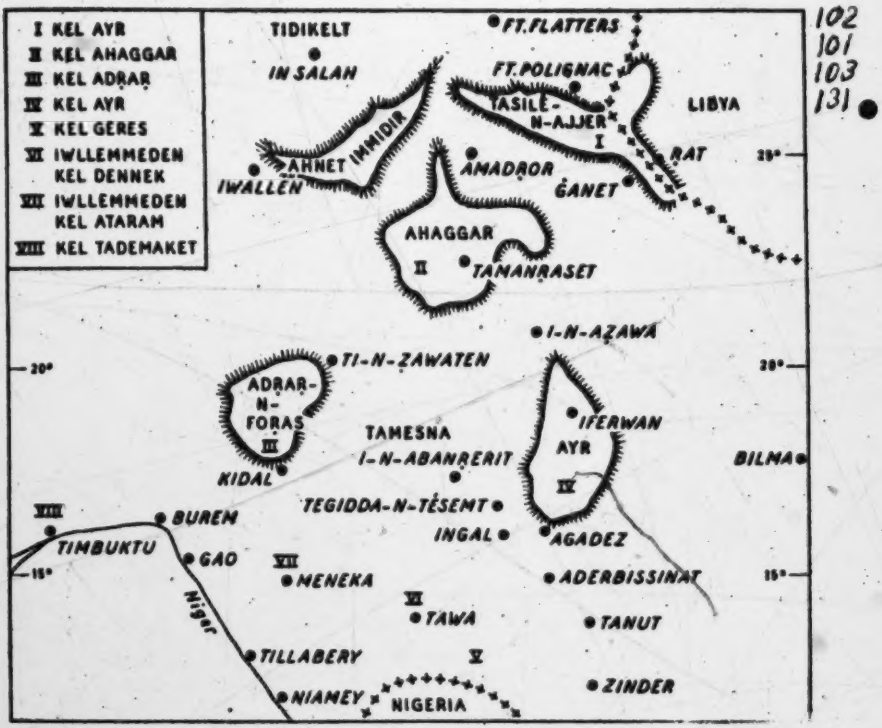

Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 9b). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Environment

Tuareg country ranges from comparatively fertile savannah in the south to barren desert in the north, where the nomads live in or near mountainous regions. Four Tuareg groups are named after the dominant mountains of the Western Sahara, namely those of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and Ayr.

The mountains of Ahaggar are by far the highest. They consist predominantly of archaic and proterozoic rocks, and of basalt and tufa from a relatively recent period. They are generally of a very dark colour and characterized by formations of rugged ranges, craters and isolated peaks which also bear evidence to former volcanic activity. But the rugged contours of the Ahaggar Mountains are also created by a complicated network of river valleys eroded mainly during the pluvial periods contemporary with the European Ice Age.

The Ahaggar Mountains fall into three main massifs of which that named Atakor is the most important and the highest, with peaks up to 3000 metres above sea level (Ilaman, Tahat). To the north is the massif of Téfedest with peaks which surpass an altitude of 2000 metres, and to the east the lower massif named Anahef. In geological structure these three mountain massifs of Ahaggar differ from the mountains of Ahnet, Immidir (Mouydir), and Tasilé-n-Ajjer which surround Ahaggar in the north. These latter massifs consist predominantly of paleozoic sandstone. They are not so high above sea level and form comparatively flat plateaux. The maximum altitude of Ahnet is 1300 metres while the peaks of Immidir rise to 1680 metres. The extensive plateau of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is on average 1200 metres above sea level, but a few peaks in the south exceed 2000 metres. Parts of the Tasilé-n-Ajjer mountains are covered with basalt rocks, and the river valleys of the comparatively level plateau often form true canyons which make traffic much more difficult than in the higher and more rugged mountains of Ahaggar. Between and around the northern mountain massifs the country consists mainly of flat plains covered with gravel and stone. Extensive areas of sandy desert are rare except in parts of the *Kel Ajjer* territory.

Far to the south of Ahaggar are the low mountains of Tasilé-ta-n-Ahaggar, which are structurally related to the *tasilé* mountains in the north. This area is of little importance to the Tuareg and, in contrast to the higher and more extensive massifs of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas and Ayr, is not regularly inhabited. While the mountains of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas are everywhere below 1000 metres, the peaks of Ayr rise to almost 2000 metres above sea level in the east and the north where the country is covered with basalt rocks. Idukalen in the Begzen Mountains is 1900 metres above sea level, while the Tamgak Mountains in the north have a maximum altitude of about 1800 metres. In its most mountainous parts the Ayr

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133 Massif resembles Ahaggar, but it is on the whole much more level with broader valleys and in between
[131] the lower mountains there are clayey plains. Immediately east of the Massif is the very extended sandy desert which is uninhabited. Further south than Adraɾ-n-Foras and Ayr there are no considerable mountains. Between the two massifs are the plains of Tamesna and Talak which continue into the plains of the Sudanese savannah.

Tuareg country consists predominantly of rocky mountains and flat, extensive plains of gravel and stone. This configuration is basic to our understanding of Tuareg economy as will become clear when we have outlined the characteristic features of climate.

132 Tuareg country is very hot in summer – so hot that even the nomads born and bred in the country suffer much from the heat at that season. The hottest months are May, June (farthest south) and July (farthest north). During these months temperature may exceed 50° centigrade, and is on average 30°–35°, or higher. In the uppermost mountain zone of Ahaggar nights are comparatively cool even in summer, while in the lower country there is often little difference between day and night temperatures. This is true in particular when, as often happens in summer, the sky is overcast during the night and consequently there is little radiation of the heat absorbed by rocks and sand in daytime. The day temperature in summer is normally higher than the temperature of the human body, and the temperature of sand and rocks will rise to 60°–70°. Travelling is extremely hard under such conditions,
[484] [271] and most people spend the day in the shade of rocks and trees, sleeping and drinking water of which an adult person consumes 8–10 litres a day. Violent winds are common in the Sahara most of the year and in particular in the daytime; in summer these winds are usually very hot and add considerably to the discomfort of the climate, as do the numerous flies.

The country of the Northern Tuareg has a rather continental climate characterized by great fluctuations of temperature during the year. Although Tuareg suffer from heat in summer, they do not generally complain much about it, and they consider the comparatively cold winter much worse than the hot summer. In winter, temperature in the country of the Northern Tuareg averages about 10°. The absolute minimum temperature however is very much below this. Thus in Ahaggar the village of Tamanraset (1400 m) has in January an average temperature of 11,7 , but an absolute minimum of −6,6 . Frost is very common during winter nights, and even snow may fall in the higher parts of Ahaggar at that time of the year. In the country of the Southern Tuareg frost may also occur, but in Southern Ayr around Agadez frost is said to be very rare and snow is unknown; the winter period
[511] [164] in the south is on the whole milder than in the north, where the changes between relatively cold and very hot temperatures, allied with inadequate dwellings and clothes, are responsible for pneumonia and similar diseases, which give rise to frequent deaths – especially among children.

The most important climatic distinction between the countries of Northern and Southern Tuareg is due to differences in the annual precipitation as will be seen from the following figures (in m/m) for the annual rainfall 1931–1945 in the territories of seven Tuareg groups:—

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B.2.b. ***Skin tents with semi-arches over horizontal cross-bars***

I have seen such tents among Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, and it is from this area that I describe the following structure:—

[361] B.2.b.1. Three tents of this type were seen in the *Iregenaten* camp which comprised eight tents south of *I-n-abanjerit*. One of the tents was very large with a sheet measuring about 7.00×7.00 m, while the two others were comparatively small. The two small tents had a maximum height of about 1.50 m, while the large tent was about 1.70 m high. Structurally the three tents were identical, as follows:—

Three pairs of forked sticks with horizontal cross-bars were placed parallel to one another at right angles to the longitudinal direction. The middle pair of sticks was a good deal higher than the two outer pairs; the two central poles or sticks were called *igetten* (sing. *aget*) and the sticks of the two outer pairs *tigeffewin* (sing. *tegeffewt*). The three horizontal cross-bars were all known as *iregeragaten* (sing. *aregaraga*). The skeleton of these three cross-bars resting upon pairs of sticks had in addition two semi-arches known as *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*). Each of these semi-arches consisted of two slender rods, tied together at their thin ends resting upon the central cross-bars to which they were also fastened with cords, while the thick ends of the semi-arches were tied to the two outer cross-bars close to their edges. This structure, we see, is not very different from the B.2.a.2 type. The sole distinction between these two types is that the latter has a central arch instead of a central cross-bar resting upon upright poles. Actually, the types B.2.b.1 and B.2.a.2 were seen in the same camp and constituted five out of the total eight tents found in it. The wooden structure of the B.2.b.1. tents was also made from boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). The sheet was attached to a number of poles, both in the front and at the back, while the narrow ends were kept close to the grounds by means of short wooden pegs. The ordinary *afezu* mats belonged to all three tents (Fig. 275).

[131] B.2.b.2. This is a very small tent depicted by Lhote from the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg around Gao. Its structure appears to be related to that just described (cf. Lhote 1947a, photo 79 p. 113).

[101] B.2.b.3. This is a most interesting type of skin tent which is described by Lhote from the south-western Tuareg – the *Tengerregif* and the *Kel Inteser*. The type is illustrated by excellent photographs which clearly indicate the structure, namely:— There are two long semi-arches each of which is made from two curved sticks lashed together. The semi-arches are attached at their thick ends to two horizontal cross-bars, each of which rests upon a pair of forked sticks. The horizontal cross-bars are very short so that the distance between the two parallel semi-arches which follow the longitudinal direction of the structure is also very short. The semi-arches are further supported by two other short cross-bars each resting upon two sticks. These sticks with their cross-bars are not always erected in the same way. In summer, the sticks are upright, while in winter they are placed obliquely towards the inside. All poles and sticks which make up the structure are buried solidly in the ground, and this is also the case with the very large number of poles placed along the sides for fastening the sheet. According to Lhote, some of these poles are termed *igem* and *ounousen* (*unnusen*), which words are also used in Ahaggar for certain poles. Though the structure is a very narrow one, these tents may nevertheless be very large as the sheet is fastened to many poles placed at some distance from the narrow structure (Lhote 1947a, p. 100, 160 f., photographs nos. 85–93 p. 128–129).